

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----084724 061458Z /46

O 061244Z JUN 78 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8818

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2403

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FOR AF ASST, SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, US, FR, TZ  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: STATE 142133

1. VERY GRATEFUL REFTEL. THE DRAFT LETTER IS EXCELLENT. WE  
HAVE THOUGHTS ON ONLY THREE POINTS IN IT:

(A) IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO DEAL MORE DIRECTLY WITH  
NYERERE'S CHARGE OF DEFICIENCIES UNDER THE MOBUTU REGIME.

(B) WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE AS STRONGLY AS WE CAN THE UNIQUE-  
NESS OF THE SHABA CASE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR OTHER MUTUAL  
INTERESTS IN AFRICA, AND

(C) IF WE DO NOT WISH TO SUPPLY DAMNING SPECIFICS ON  
CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN SHABA, WE SHOULD AVOID DIRECT CONFRONTA-  
TION ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT CASTRO TOLD NYERERE AND  
WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE TRUE.

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FOR THE PURPOSES OF EASE IN HANDLING AND TO TAKE ADVANTAGE  
OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO TURN AN OCCASIONAL PHRASE TO  
RECIPROCATATE THE HIGHLY PERSONAL TONE OF NYERERE'S LETTER, A  
REVISED FULL TEXT FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I APPRECIATE THE OPPOR-  
TUNITY PROVIDED BY YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 1 TO EXCHANGE VIEWS

WITH YOU ON RECENT EVENTS IN SHABA AND THE INITIATIVES THE UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED TO RESTORE ORDER THERE. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE BROADER PROBLEM OF OUTSIDE INFLUENCE IN AFRICA, A QUESTION ON WHICH I BELIEVE WE ARE IN AGREEMENT. I WELCOME THE FRANKNESS IN YOUR LETTER AND WILL REPLY IN THE SAME SPIRIT.

FIRST OF ALL, I WANT TO REASSURE YOU ON THE NATURE AND INTENT OF OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SHABA OPERATION AND IN THE JUNE 5 MEETING IN PARIS. OUR INITIAL DECISION TO PROVIDE SUPPORT TO THE AIR RESCUE OPERATION AT KOLWEZI WAS BASED ON HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS THAT, IN THE EVENT, TURNED OUT TRAGICALLY TO BE WARRANTED. THE SITUATION EXISTING IN SHABA COULD TRIGGER ECONOMIC COLLAPSE, REGIONAL FRAGMENTATION, AND WIDESPREAD SUFFERING THROUGHOUT ZAIRE. IF THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF SHABA IS TO BE RESTORED AND A FURTHER BREAKDOWN IN ORDER AVOIDED, THERE MUST BE AN EFFECTIVE MILITARY PRESENCE THERE. IT IS CLEARLY UNDESIRABLE THAT FRENCH AND BELGIAN FORCES REMAIN. SOME AFRICAN STATES HAVE OFFERED TO TAKE THEIR PLACE. AT THE REQUEST OF ALL INVOLVED, WE ARE FACILITATING THIS EXCHANGE OF UNITS BY PROVIDING A US AIRLIFT.

THERE IS NO QUESTION IN MY MIND BUT THAT FUNDAMENTAL REFORM MUST BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF ANY LAST SOLUTION TO ZAIRE'S DIFFICULTIES. OUR PURPOSE IS NOT TO SUPPORT THE STATUS QUO IN ZAIRE. AS I DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA LAST MONTH,

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I FULLY RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR CHANGE. WE INTEND TO PRESS FOR THAT CHANGE BILATERALLY, IN PARIS, AND AT THE LONG-PLANNED BRUSSELS MEETING ON JUNE 13-14. HOWEVER, THE RESTORATION OF PUBLIC ORDER IN SHABA IS AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP. WHATEVER ONE MAY THINK ABOUT THE PRACTICES AND POLICIES OF THE ZAIRE GOVERNMENT, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT A RETURN TO THE INTERNAL CHAOS THAT PLAGUED THAT UNFORTUNATE COUNTRY IN THE PREVIOUS DECADE WOULD BE ANYTHING BUT A STEP BACKWARD NOW.

I RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA AND THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TENSION BETWEEN THEM DOES NOT LIE EXCLUSIVELY WITH EITHER PARTY. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY SUPPORTED NIGERIA'S EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT BETWEEN THESE TWO COUNTRIES THAT EACH WILL RESPECT THEIR COMMON BORDER AND WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE OTHER'S INTERNAL UNREST. SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE IN THOSE TALKS AND I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT NEGOTIATION BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, WITH WHATEVER AFRICAN HELP PROMISES TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE, CAN BE RESUMED.

IN SUM, IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THE SHABA CASE IS BOTH UNIQUE AND URGENT. IT SHOULD BE DEALT WITH IN TERMS OF THE PROBLEMS

THAT BROUGHT IT ABOUT, NOT AS AN ASPECT OF GREAT POWER GLOBAL POLITICS. SHABA'S PROBLEM STEMS FROM A DISRUPTIVE ATTEMPT TO FRAGMENT A STATE. IT IS IN SHARP CONTRAST TO WHAT IS HAPPENING IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA WHERE THE AIM IS INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2403

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FOR AF ASST, SECRETARY MOOSE

ON THE BROADER QUESTION OF SECURITY IN AFRICA, THE FRENCH AND OTHERS HAVE, INDEED, RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF FORMING A WESTERN-BACKED INTER-AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT OUR FOCUS IS STRICTLY ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SHABA. WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF PARTICIPATING IN ANY NON-AFRICAN FORUM THAT ARROGATES TO ITSELF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINDING SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. WE WANT NO CENTO (CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION) OR SEATO (SOUTH EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION) FOR AFRICA. I WOULD FIND A SECOND BERLIN CONFERENCE JUST AS REPUGNANT AND HISTORICALLY ANACHRONISTIC AS YOU DO.

RATHER THAN SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO THE COMPLEX AND LONGSTANDING PROBLEMS WHICH UNDERLIE TENSION AND UNREST IN AFRICA THROUGH MILITARY MEANS, MY ADMINISTRATION HAS CONCENTRATED ON SEEKING SOLUTIONS THAT STRIKE AT THE ROOTS OF THE DIFFICULTY. WE HAVE EMPHASIZED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS THAT WILL HELP AFRICAN COUNTRIES REMOVE THE DISPARITIES IN MATERIAL WELL-BEING THAT LEAD TO SOCIAL CONFLICT. WE ARE TRYING IN A CONTINUING DIALOGUE ON THE "NORTH-SOUTH" PROBLEMS TO DO THE SAME THING.

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ON POLITICAL QUESTIONS, THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO SUPPORT AFRICAN STATES WORKING THROUGH THE OAU IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO MAJOR ISSUES. ON THE CRUCIAL QUESTIONS OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, I RECOGNIZE THAT MUCH OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED TO DATE HAS BEEN THE RESULT OF YOUR WISE COUNSEL. I SHALL COUNTINUE TO DO ALL THAT I CAN TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU AND YOUR FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES TOWARD THE INDEPENDENCE, MAJORITY RULE, AND PEACE THAT WE ALL SO DESIRE IN THOSE COUNTRIES. ON ALL AFRICAN ISSUES, I HOPE THAT AFRICAN LEADERS SUCH AS YOURSELF WILL FIND THE MEANS TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS AND THAT THE KHARTOUM MEETING WILL PROVIDE THE CATALYST FOR EFFECTIVE ACTION.

AS IN OUR MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON, I SUPPOSE WE MUST CONTINUE TO DISAGREE ON ONE THING. TO ME, THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA, WHILE THEY MAY SOMETIMES COINCIDE WITH THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF AFRICANS, ARE DIRECTED PRIMARILY TOWARD ENHANCEMENT OF THEIR OWN SPECIAL INTERESTS. AS IN ERITREA, THEY SEEM TO PREFER MILITARY SOLUTIONS THAT TAKE HUMAN LIVES AND PROLONG SUFFERING TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS WHICH BRING LASTING STABILITY. THIS, I HAVE HAD TO CONCLUDE, WAS THE CASE ALSO IN SHABA, WHERE I AM CONVINCED THAT CUBAN PERSONNEL WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE KATANGANS IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS PRECEDING THE ATTACK ON KOLWEZI.

NEVERTHELESS, OUR REACTION IN SHABA WAS NOT ONE OF REFLEXIVE ANTI-COMMUNISM OR COLD WAR POLITICS. IT WAS BASED ON THE MINIMUM I THOUGHT HAD TO BE DONE TO SUPPORT HUMANITARIAN NEEDS AND TO PRESERVE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF AN INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATE. BELIEVE ME, MR. PRESIDENT, I REMAIN SINCERELY COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF SUPPORTING AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS BECAUSE I KNOW THAT, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, PERMANENT, SIGNIFICANT RESULTS ARE POSSIBLE ONLY THAT WAY. OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SHABA PROBLEM WILL BE STRICTLY LIMITED AND DESIGNED TO

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MINIMIZE NON-AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT. ANY OTHER CONSULTATIONS WE HAVE WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES WILL FOCUS ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND HOW WE CAN HELP AFRICANS DEAL WITH THEM. IN ALL OF THIS, I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR CONTINUING ADVICE AND HELP.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES AND SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO FURTHER OUR DIALOGUE. I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU FURTHER. SINCERELY, JIMMY CARTER.

END TEXT.

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## Message Attributes

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